U5025-2-F

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Institute for Research on Educational Finance and Governance

SCHOOL OF EDUCATION STANFORD UNIVERSITY

P/NP 12

THE CHANGING UNIVERSE OF U.S. PRIVATE SCHOOLS

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November 1985

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This paper was prepared for the Conference Comparing Public and Private Schools on October 25-26, 1984. The conference was partially funded with support from the National Institute of Education (Grant No. NIE-G-83-0003). The views expressed by author are his own and do not necessarily reflect the position either of IFG or NIE.

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Abstract

For all their importance to nations, families and educators, little is known about private education in the U.S. This research represents the latest effort to examine the size, composition, location, and developments in private elementary and secondary education. The paper presents enrollment figures, information on the number of private schools by type, regional differences, projections of enrollments, causative factors explaining growth and change, and speculations about the wider impact of socio-political change on private schooling in the U.S.

Introduction

For all their importance to nations, families, and educators,[1] precious little is known about private education in the U.S. This research represents the latest effort to examine the size, composition, location, and developments in private elementary and secondary education.[2] It analyzes the trends in all types of private schools, relating these changes to wider conditions in education, both private and public. What types of private schools have increased or decreased in size and number? Where? Why have some kinds of schools in some regions increased while others decreased in enrollment and number of schools over the same period. These shifts are then applied to social and political changes, making some initial interpretation possible.

The purpose of this chapter is to analyze trends in private schools of all types. In particular, the chapter attempts to present the following:

1. Reliable enrollment figures
2. Reliable information on the number of private schools by type
3. Regional differences
4. Projections of enrollments through 1990
5. Important factors which explain growth and change
6. Wider trends in private school composition
7. Speculations about the impact of socio-political change on private schooling in the U.S.

Methods

Counting private schools is difficult business. Many are new, unaffiliated, small, and relatively unknown. Others include not only school-age children but also preschoolers, kindergarten and after-school enrollees, making exact measures of size difficult. Still others refuse to report their whereabouts to authorities, much less such vital statistics as pupil names, program characteristics, and the number of graduates.

Despite these limitations, using three different approaches we were able to create a picture of nonpublic schools in the U.S. between 1965 and 1985, useful for drawing certain conclusions. First, in 1982, to locate some of the most difficult schools--particularly the exclusive Evangelical Christian schools--McLaughlin and Cooper[3] conducted a door-to-door exploration in 22 counties in the U.S., in the states of California, Illinois, Iowa, Louisiana, Massachusetts, Minnesota, New Jersey, Tennessee, Texas and Washington. This method involved spending days in sample counties, studying the telephone Yellow Pages, calling each school, visiting, talking with private and public school officials, and comparing the extant list of schools held by the National Center for Education Statistics (NCES) with the actual schools: some had closed, moved, changed names; others had never before been found and recorded; others had been miscategorized NCES. In all, we found after generalizing from a population in the 22 counties of 1/35th of the nation to the total country that NCES had under-calculated the number of Christian Evangelical schools by 26 percent and underestimated all private schools by 18 percent.

Second, we established that the NCES and the U.S. Department of Education's Office of Private Education have recently taken account of the earlier discovery of unknown schools and included them into the new estimates of the nonpublic school sector. On this basis they have constructed the 1984 data, which are included in this study.

Third, we also contacted the heads of national private school associations who provided up-to-date and particular data on the schools under their aegis. In analyzing the number, size, and location of these schools by type, we found that NCES used some categories which we found too broad; for example, they record "Jewish" while we preferred "Orthodox Jewish," "Conservative Jewish," and "Reform Jewish." The Center tended to divide the Christian academies among churches, such as Methodist and Baptist, while we lumped them together by "Evangelical" and by their national affiliation (Association of Christian Schools International, American Association of Christian Schools, and Accelerated Christian Education Schools). Moreover, since some private school associations are affiliated with the Council of American Private Education, a national voluntary group of private school organizations, we also used some of their membership units to present our data.

This study presents, first, a group-by-group, type-by-type analysis of the 21 different groups of private schools. The micro-trends are important to give a sense of the variety and complexity of the nonpublic school landscape. Then, we shall present some larger, macro-trends: the ties between changes in overall nonpublic education and wider social and political factors.

MICRO TRENDS

1. Roman Catholic Schools

The largest system of nonpublic schools in the U.S. is operated by the Roman Catholic Church. Historically, millions of Catholics confronted prejudice and open hatred in the Protestant-dominated public schools of the 19th and 20th centuries. As Harold A. Buetow explains, "Those with nativist proclivities adopted social Darwinism to relegate Catholic immigrants to the role of the most unfit."[4]

To escape such denigration, the Church opened over 5,000 new parochial schools between 1880 and 1920, to accommodate a burgeoning Catholic population which increased from 6 to 19 million souls in only 40 years. By 1965, some 13,292 Catholic schools were teaching 5.66 million students. In 85 years (1880 to 1965), school numbers leaped by 490 percent, from 2,246 to 13,292 schools, while pupils grew from 405 thousand to 5.66 million in the same period, a jump of 800 percent. See Table 1.

Since 1965, however, the number of schools and students has declined steadily. Peaking at 5.66 million, Catholic school enrollments reached a low of 2.96 million by 1984-85, a total percentage dip of 48 percent in two decades. The number of schools operated b the church also decline,d though less precipitiously, from a high of 13,292 schools in 1965 to 9,401 in 1984-85, a slip of 30 percent. These declines are significant, not only for what they tell us about changes in the Catholic community but also for their impact on private school statistics generally.

In 1965, 85 percent of children in private schools were attending those operated by Catholics; hence, when one though "private," one usually heard "Catholic." Now, the mix has changed as Catholic school enrollments declined and other nonpublic schools grew. Today, only 54 percent of all pupils in private sector schools attend those sponsored by the Roman Catholic Church. Reasons for this drop are many, including (a) the relocation of the Catholic community out of the cities where parishes were strongest and schools most numerous;[5] (b) the general decline in the Catholic family birthrate, in part because of affluence and assimilation; and (c) the loss or religious tone in some Catholic schools, along with a great decline in teaching priests, sisters and brothers (religious).

In the last four years, however, Catholic schools show signs of stability. First, the rate of decline has nearly stopped; there was only a 1.9 percent decline between the 1983-84 and 1984-85 school years in pupils and a mere .3 percent fewer Catholic schools. The future for Catholic schools in the U.S. is improved; the commitment is still there, as witnessed by the growth in several areas of the country.[6] When this slow leakage in size and numbers will stop is not clear. It appeared in 1982 that the decline had bottomed out at a 0.4 percent enrollment dip. but in 1983, the drop was 2.2 percent and in 1984, 1.9 percent.

TABLE 1

OVER A CENTURY OF CATHOLIC SCHOOL GROWTH AND DECLINE, 1880-1983

Year	TOTAL: Pupil Enrollment	Elementary Pupils	+ Secondary Pupils	Percentage Change over Previous No.	TOTAL: Number of Schools	Elementary Schools	Secondary Schools	Percentage Change Over Previous Entry
1880	405,234	NA	NA	-	2,246	same	NA	-
1890	633,238	—	—	+ 56%	3,931	3,194	737	+ 68 %
1900	854,523	—	—	+ 35	5,012	3,811	1,201	+ 28
1910	1,237,250	—	—	+ 45	7,405	5,856	1,549	+ 48
1920	1,925,616	1,795,700	129,916	+ 56	8,103	6,551	1,552	+ 9
1930	2,464,522	2,222,600	241,921	+ 28	10,046	7,923	2,123	+ 24
1940	2,396,329	2,035,200	361,129	- 3	10,049	7,944	2,105	+ 0
1950	3,066,419	2,560,819	505,600	+ 28	10,778	8,589	2,189	+ 7
1960	5,288,705	4,373,403	915,302	+ 72	10,892	10,500	2,392	+ 1
1964	5,662,328*	4,505,620*	1,066,740	+ 7	13,296*	10,879*	2,417*	+ 22
1965	5,582,354	4,492,100	1,090,254*	- 1	13,292	10,879	2,413	+ 0.32%
1970	4,363,600	3,355,500	1,008,100	- 22	11,262	9,307	1,955	- 18
1975	3,415,000	2,525,000	890,000	- .001	9,993	8,340	1,653	+ 5
1980	3,106,378	2,269,300	837,000	- 0.4	9,560	8,043	1,516	- 16
1982	3,094,521	2,266,432	828,089	- 0.4	9,494	7,996	1,498	- 0.7%
1983	3,027,312	2,225,289	801,023	- 2.2	9,432	7,950	1,482	- 0.7%
1984	2,968,210	2,180,166	788,044	- 1.9	9,401	7,937	1,464	- 0.3%
1985	2,902.008	2.120,008	782,000	- 2.2%	9,340	7,891	1,449	- 0.67%

*Peak amount for enrollment or number of schools.

Source: A Statistical Report on U.S. Catholic Schools, 1978-79. (Washington, D.C.: National Catholic Education Association) p. 3.
A Statistical Report on U.S. Catholic Schools, 1984-85, pp. 8, 12.

2. Lutheran Schools

The second largest category of affiliated private schools belong to the various synods of the Lutheran Church. Founded on the teachings of Martin Luther, who insisted that Christians learn to rad, not only for religious reasons, but for civic and economic ones as well, these schools sought to create "able, learned, wise and upright cultivated citizens."[7] In the U.S. the Lutheran groups came from Sweden, Germany, Holland and Austria, founding their own church schools as early as 1600.[8]

As shown in Table 2, the Lutherans run some 2,500 schools for about a quarter of a million pupils. Most of the students (71%) attend schools run by churches of the Missouri Synod, followed by Wisconsin Evangelical and American Lutheran Church synods. Like other Protestant schools, Lutherans have increased their numbers in the years since 1965; pupil totals are up from 208,209 in 1965 to 280,559 in 1984, a leap of 35 percent in enrollments. The number of schools has climbed from 1,896 in 1965 to 2,480 in 1984, up 31 percent. So while Roman Catholic enrollments dipped by 46 percent between 1965 and 1984 (48 percent by 1985), Lutheran schools grew by a third, most markedly among the American Lutheran Church, up 256% from 8,795 in 1965 to 31,284 pupils in 1983-84.

Parochial schools have become an integral part of Lutheran church life, with about a third of all churches having their own day school.

Table 2

U.S. LUTHERAN SCHOOLS, BY TYPE AND LEVEL

1983

	ELEMENTARY		SECONDARY		TOTAL	
	Schools	Pupils	Schools	Pupils	Schools	Pupils
Lutheran Church, Missouri Synod	1,542	181,666	61	16,493	1,603	198,061
American Lutheran Church	374	31,284	2	333	376	31,617
Wisconsin Evang. Lutheran Church	372	31,126	18	4,414	390	35,540
Lutheran Church in America	40	8,555	6	813	46	9,368
Assoc. of Evang. Lutheran Church	21	4,296	--	--	21	4,296
Evangelical Lutheran Synod	16	848	--	--	16	848
Church of the Lutheran Confession	19	517	2	28	21	545
Church of the Lutheran Bretheran	3	106	1	113	7	219
The Protestant Conference (Luth.) Inc.	3	65	--	--	3	65
TOTAL BY CATEGORY:	2,390	181,568	90	22,194	2,480	280,529

Source: Statistical Report, Elementary School Statistics, Report 01, 02, The Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod, Board of Parish Services, Information Bulletin, #33883, 1982-83; Community Lutheran High Schools, Report # 25083, 1982-83.

A recent church report states that "Lutheran schools are a mission of the church."[9]

3. Jewish Day Schools

The development of Jewish all-day schools reflects changes in the American Jewish community, starting with the very first synagogue which opened such a day school in 1731. Since then, with the arrival of Eastern European Jews, both Orthodox Yeshivot (Torah academies, Talmud-Torahs) and the newer multicultural modern day schools have opened in large numbers.[10]

Today, Jewish schools can be divided roughly into Orthodox, Conservative (also called Solomon Schechter Schools after the former president of Jewish Theological Seminary), and the newest, the Reform day schools. In 1965, the U.S. had a total of 73,112 children in Jewish day schools, a number rising to 100,202 by 1984, a jump of 37 percent in 19 years. The number of these schools also grew, but faster (by 66 percent). In 1965, there were 345 schools; by 1984, 572, with each group increasing: Orthodox, 55% more schools; Conservative, 258%; Reform, 40%. Numbers of pupils by group also grew: Orthodox by 25%; Conservative, 245%; and Reform, 87%. (See Table 3.)

This growth indicates a change in traditional support by Jews for public education, though this issue of "abandoning" the public schools is still debated,[11] as Jews continue to search for religious

Table 3

JEWISH SCHOOL GROWTH BY GROUP, 1965-83

	1965-66	1970-71	1975-76	1980-81	1982-83	% Growth/Decline 1965 to 1983
TOTAL JEWISH						
a. Schools:	345	417	483	542	572	66%
b. Pupils:	73,112	83,106	91,513	96,178	100,202	37%
ORTHODOX JEWISH						
a. Schools:	321	378	427	477	497	55%
b. Pupils:	68,800	75,221	82,203	84,201	86,321	25%
CONSERVATIVE						
a. Schools:	19	34	50	59	68	250%
b. Pupils:	3,489	7,042	7,965	10,546	12,341	254%
REFORM JEWISH						
a. Schools:	5	5	6	6	7	40%
b. Pupils:	823	843	1,345	1.431	1,540	87%

Source: Jewish Educational Services of North America, New York, New York; Torah Umesorah (the National Society for Hebrew Day Schools); United Synagogue of America, Commission of Education; and Union of American Hebrew Congregations, Department of Education, 1984.

identity and assimilation into American life. Jewish day schools play a vital role in this effort to be Jews and Americans.

4. Seventh Day Adventist (SDA) Schools

Among Protestant groups, the SDA is among the most active, fastest-growing and evangelistic. In fact, Adventists are the largest Protestant sect worldwide, with missions in 190 countries. In the U.S., the first SDA schools opened in 1852. Today, 1,324 schools enroll 81,507 pupils; this includes 40 coeducational boarding high schools. These data are up from the 1965 levels of 884 schools (27% increase by 1983) and 64,252 pupils (up 49% between 1965 and 1984). See Table 4.

These increases parallel the developments in the U.S. church. Like the Roman Catholics, the SDA has a long-term commitment to schooling, not only in the U.S. but around the world.[12] Like Catholics, the Adventists take an international view of religious and educational life, showing strong growth and development.

TABLE 4

Growth in Seventh Day Adventist Schools, 1965-83

	1965-66	1970-71	1975-76	1980-81	1982-83	% Growth From: 1965-83
Students	64,252	72,106	74,938	74,615	81,507	+27%
Schools	884	994	1,115	1,280	1,324	+49%

Source: Seventh Day Adventist Church, National Headquarters, Department of Education (K-12), 6840 Eastern Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C.

5. National Association of Independent Schools (NAIS)

Thus far, the private schools discussed have been religious in sponsorship. The member schools of the NAIS, an association with headquarters in Boston, are known primarily for their academic excellence, elite clientele, and their ability to get their students into high prestige colleges (the Ivy League, for example). Some NAIS members are religiously affiliated as well: particularly the Episcopalian and Roman Catholic schools run by religious orders.

Many of the preparatory schools were founded at the turn of the century (such as Groton, Hotchkiss, Lawrenceville), though a few trace their origins to the century before (Andover and Exeter academies).[13] These well-known boarding schools make up a very small but important segment (23%) of al NAIS member schools, with only 15% of the pupils, while day schools comprise 251,713 out of 294,985 total students in NAIS schools in 1980.

Table 5 shows the breakdown of private, independent schools: coeducational, boys only, girls only, day and boarding. Between 1965 and 1984, enrollments jumped from 199,329 to 336,797, or 69%, while numbers of member schools went up from 697 to 837, or 25%. Between 1969 and 1980, all-boys schools dropped by 49%, all-girls by nearly 10 percent, with more all-boys schools becoming coeducational than did girls-only schools. In the same period, elementary day-coeducational schools increased by 36 percent; secondary coeducational schools dropped by 2% during the same period, indicating a shift in the independent school sector.

Thus, the overall make-up of independent schools has greatly changed: from boarding to day school, from single-sex to coeducation,

N = Number
(x̄) = Arithmetic Mean (Average)

Table 5

ENROLLMENT TRENDS 1969-70 THROUGH 1979-80
ALL NAIS SCHOOLS, CONTINENTAL U.S.

	69-70	70-71	71-72	72-73	73-74	74-75	75-76	76-77	77-78	78-79	79-80	69-70 to 79-80 % Change
TOTAL												
Total N of Students	235,330	241,599	249,228	255,409	262,600	263,950	265,766	272,759	264,795	285,122	294,985	+25.3%
Average (x̄) N Students/School	336	336	343	354	360	363	368	373	373	377	381	+13.4%
N of Schools	701	718	726	721	730	728	722	732	709	757	774	+10.4%
CO-ED SCHOOLS												
Total N of Students	137,091	158,045	169,335	183,798	196,902	204,945	208,124	215,627	187,509	204,977	214,645	+56.6%
Average (x̄) N Students/School	350	344	352	367	374	377	380	384	374	377	383	+9.4%
N of Schools	392	460	481	501	527	543	548	561	502	544	561	+43.1%
BOYS SCHOOLS												
Total N of Students	65,342	53,315	49,509	44,626	40,492	34,772	34,385	33,855	36,342	36,515	35,814	-45.2%
Average (x̄) N Students/School	339	344	346	343	343	334	347	349	363	365	362	+6.8%
N of Schools	193	153	143	130	118	104	99	97	100	100	99	-48.7%
GIRLS SCHOOLS												
Total N of Students	32,897	30,239	30,384	26,985	25,206	24,233	23,257	23,277	34,272	36,842	37,486	+13.9%
Average (x̄) N Students/School	284	294	298	300	297	299	310	315	346	351	357	+25.7%
N of Schools	116	103	102	90	85	81	75	74	99	105	105	-9.5%
DAY SCHOOLS (≥95%)												
Total N of Students	148,909	155,430	165,946	175,314	183,153	199,531	201,802	198,382	200,563	219,712	218,260	+46.6%
Average (x̄) N Students/School	370	373	385	400	407	417	423	418	422	422	420	+13.5%
N of Schools	403	417	431	438	450	478	477	474	475	521	520	+29.0%
BOARDING SCHOOLS (≥50%)												
Total N of Students	47,508	45,169	40,993	40,361	37,893	38,701	36,907	40,588	38,736	41,233	43,272	-8.9%
Average (x̄) N Students/School	228	217	213	215	214	216	213	225	231	239	243	+6.6%
N of Schools	208	208	192	188	186	179	173	180	168	173	178	+14.4%
K-12 SCHOOLS (INCLUDING PRE-SCHOOL)												
Total N of Students	122,853	126,234	131,358	139,292	143,655	144,682	146,852	152,622	143,853	153,458	157,864	+28.5%
Average (x̄) N Students/School	467	473	479	501	510	522	534	543	541	546	564	+20.8%
N of Schools	263	271	274	278	282	277	275	281	266	281	280	+6.5%
ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS												
Total N of Students	31,953	32,387	36,695	36,480	37,504	39,152	39,224	36,514	38,155	42,884	46,442	+45.3%
Average (x̄) N Students/School	237	236	258	261	266	266	271	250	253	245	251	+5.9%
N of Schools	135	137	142	140	141	147	145	146	155	175	184	+36.3%
SECONDARY SCHOOLS												
Total N of Students	80,524	80,978	81,175	79,637	81,241	80,126	79,690	83,624	78,438	85,427	87,242	+4.3%
Average (x̄) N Students/School	266	261	262	263	265	264	264	274	284	296	294	+10.5%
N of Schools	303	310	310	303	307	304	302	305	276	289	297	-1.9%

Source: National Association of Independent Schools, Boston, Mass., 1984.

and from more secondary to more elementary schools. The growth of local, day-independent schools, coeducational indicates the rising need for easily accessible elite private schools that were once only available for boarding students. This trend continues, with a 14% increase between 1980 and 1983. And as pressure rises to gain access to elite colleges and jobs, the demand for NAIS schools will probably grown, particularly for local independent schools.

6. Episcopal Schools

Episcopalians started some of the nation's most prestigious private schools, such as St. Paul's and Groton, though the church leadership nationwide has put little money or energy into such schools. Today, in a number of communities, church clergy and laypeople have cooperated in starting elementary Episcopal schools, often growing from a church kindergarten or preschool.

Between 1965 and 1984, for example, the number of Episcopal day schools rose from 316 schools with 59,437 pupils in 1965 to 527 schools with 68,547 students, a jump of 32% in enrollment and 52% in number of schools. (See Table 6.) As the new mini-baby boom continues, these schools, which offer local, parent-controlled, and high quality programs, seem in a good position to grow, not only for members of the Episcopal church but for people in general (already, over 75 percent of students in Episcopal schools are not Episcopalians, in contrast to the Catholic church schools with 17% non-Catholics in attendance).

TABLE 6

Growth of Episcopal Schools, 1965-83

	1965-66	1970-71	1975-76	1980-81	1982-83	% Growth/ Decline: 1965-83
Student Enrollment	59,437	74,892	76,436	76,388	78,214	32%
Number of Schools	347	459	438	320	527	52%

Source: National Center for Education Statistics, 1984; National Association of Episcopal Schools, 815 Second Avenue, New York, NY 10017.

7. Greek Orthodox Schools

In the last 50 years, the number of Greek Americans in the U.S. increased to almost 2 million, and their day schools have grown as well. In 1965, for example, there were 13 Greek Orthodox day schools in the U.S. with a total attendance of 2,205. By 1984, the number of schools almost doubled to 23 schools in seven states, and a total of 7,590 pupils. In this period, the schools grew in number by 77%, student enrollments by 24%--a great change since 1907 when the Socrates School of Chicago opened, America's first Greek Orthodox day school.

Each school is attached to a church or cathedral and is supported by the entire Greek-American community. To date, only three high schools have been opened, requiring Greek Orthodox families to place their children in public or other non-Greek secondary schools. Perhaps new schools will be opened, including additional high schools.

TABLE 7

The Development of Greek Orthodox
Day Schools in U.S., 1965-83

	1965-66	1970-71	1975-76	1980-81	1982-83	% Increase/ Decrease 1965-83
Student Enrollment	2,205	3,655	3,600	6,654	5,590	24%
Number of Schools	13	18	19	21	23	77%

Source: Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of North and South America, 1983, 10 East 79th Street, New York, NY 10021.

8. Friends (Quaker) Schools

The Society of Friends founded some of the first private schools in the nation: William Penn himself chartered Friends Select School in 1689. By 1985, the number had grown to 69 schools, with 15,901 enrolled, an increase from 1965 when 10,878 pupils attended 36 Quaker schools. (See Table 8.) Friends Schools, then, grew by 77% in number of schools and 27% enrollment.

TABLE 8

Growth of Quaker Day Schools, 1965-83

	1965-66	1970-71	1975-76	1980-81	1982-83	% Growth/ Decline: 1965-83
Pupils	10,878	13,706	13,801	13,522	13,853	27%
Schools	36	41	47	51	53	77%

Source: National Center for Education Statistics and Friends Council on Education, 1507 Cherry Street, Philadelphia, PA 19102.

9. Mennonite Schools

Another of the "peace" churches (along with the Quakers and Brethren), the Mennonites are followers of the Swiss priest, Huldren Zwingli (1484-1531), an early Anabaptizer.[14] They, like the Quakers, sought religious freedom in Penn's Wood (Pennsylvania). By 1984, some 10,906 children attended 113 schools (7,801 pupils in 93 elementary schools; 3,105 in 20 secondary schools). These numbers were down 18% in pupils and 59% in numbers of schools from 1965-66, in part because of the withdrawal of Amish schools from the Mennonite statistics. Between 1970 and 1984, however, there has been steady growth in enrollment (from 7,368 to 10,906) and schools (from 89 to 113). The recent data seem to show a renewed interest in Mennonite education in the U.S., as shown in Table 9.

10. Special Education Schools

Changes in federal laws and state/local regulations have greatly increased the demands for private schools for children with special intellectual, physical and emotional problems. If the local public schools cannot supply an appropriate school for a special needs child, the family under Public Law 94-142 and other legislation may seek placement in a private, specialized school, even on in another state. With public support, then, many of these schools are privately run but publicly financed.

Table 9

Mennonite School Enrollments, 1965-1983

	1965-66	1970-71	1975-76	1980-81	1982-83	%±
Totals:						
Pupils:	13,256	7,368	8,079	9,765	10,906	-17.73
Schools:	279	89	93	99	113	-59.50
Elementary						
Pupils:	10,947	5,172	5,589	6,778	7,801	-28.74
Schools:	267	75	78	81	93	-65.17
Secondary						
Pupils:	2,309	2,196	2,490	2,987	3,105	+34.47
Schools:	12	14	15	18	20	+66.67

Source: National Center for Education Statistics, 1984; Mennonite Yearbook and Directory, Volume 75, 1984; James E. Horsch, Editor, Mennonite Publishing House, Scottsdale, Pa.

Longitudinal data are not yet available, though it is known that about 300,000 such children are served by about 2,600 privately-run schools, some boarding, for special children in 1983; only a few are attending schools affiliated with the National Association of Private Schools for Exceptional Children. These schools play a significant role in helping children who cannot function in the traditional school. Also, since they are heavily subsidized, they are an interesting model of total state support, useful perhaps to policymakers and others interested in state-private school relations.

11. Alternative Schools

In the 1960s, a number of families sought progressive, "free" school educations, ones that were "open," "child-centered," and non-competitive.[15] Today, some 20 years later, while many of the free and freedom schools of the 1960s have closed, a number still exist and have contact with the Alternative Schools Network in Chicago. The Network produced a list of 128 existing private free schools in 1983, down from 467 such schools in 1975, the peak year. While many closed, and some joined the public school system as alternative or magnet schools, a number survived and have even become larger and more established.

12. Military Schools

Prior to the Vietnam War, a number of families sought military academies for the education of their sons (and now their daughters). During the 1960s and 1970s, it appears that many of these academies either closed or went "civilian," dropping many of the trappings of military life (commandants, usually a general, cadets, etc.). Though

exact longitudinal data are not available, discussions with the Association of Military Colleges and Schools indicates the existence of 36 military schools, mostly in the South and Midwest, of which 10 are coeducational, with girls as day students (they go home at night) and boys as boarders. Total enrollment was about 10,000. Today, these schools appear to be more popular as discipline and patriotism seem more acceptable in U.S. education.

13. Calvinist Schools

Calvinist schools are affiliated with Christian Schools International, formerly the National Union of Christian Schools. Brought to the U.S. by the Dutch, Calvinist churches and schools are today associated with Christian reform congregations, and are run by "parent societies," not churches. As shown in Table 10, Calvinist schools lost ground between 1965 and 1975; though by 1983, they had climbed back to a higher total of 382 schools and 74,541 pupils, up from the 1975 low of 211 schools, 48,858 students. Overall, from 1965 to 1983, however, Calvinist schools showed a 78% growth in number of schools and 45% increase in enrollments.

TABLE 10

Growth Among Calvinist Day Schools, 1965-83

	1965-66	1970-71	1975-76	1980-81	1982-83	% Change 1965-83
Schools	234	222	211	217	382	+78%
Students	51,240	51,182	48,585	51,845	74,541	+45%

Source: Christian Schools International. Directory 1983-84, 3350 E. Paris Avenue, S.E., P.O. Box 8709, Grand Rapids, MI 49508. Dr. Michael T. Ruiter, Executive Director; and the National Center for Education Statistics, 1983.

14. Evangelical Christian Schools

The explosion of interest in Fundamentalist Christianity has led to the phenomenal growth in Evangelical Christian schools, some claiming that they open at the rate of one per day. This break with public schools is important, since these Protestants had long been loyal supporters of the local public system. Such a break with the past signals, according to James C. Carper, "a collapse of consensus concerning the basic nature and function of our institutions and the values, traditions, and purposes undergirding them."[16] Parents now see public schools as too secular and un-Christian, and are seeking refuge in their own Fundamentalist academies with other "born-again" families.

Exact data are not available over time. From our survey and search in 22 sample counties, extrapolated to the entire nation, we came up with 10,741 Fundamentalist schools, with a total enrollment of 912,985 in 1983-84. These figures tend to concur with surveys by other scholars,[17] and the numbers have continued to increase in the

last three years, putting the number close to a million children in nearly 12,000 schools more recently. These schools tend to be small, decentralized and totally autonomous: that is, not usually affiliated with a national body.

15. Assembly of God

A sect of Evangelical Protestants, this group now reports having 200 schools with 10,212 pupils in 1984, according to NCES. Again, we have no reliable long-term data on these schools, though we assume that they have many of the qualities of other Fundamentalist schools.

16. American Montessori Schools

Montessori schools began as primarily a preschool program, which of late has expanded into the primary and elementary grades. Based on the philosophy and practices of Swiss physician Maria Montessori, these schools have expanded from 485 to 640 schools between 1983 and 1985, with an estimated elementary school population increase from 40,000 to 50,000.

MEGA-TRENDS

What do these changes mean for private education and for the future of schooling in the U.S.? What patterns and trends emerge from these data? Here are the major changes that these data illustrate:

1. From Catholic to diverse. It seems clear that the American private school sector has been redefined in the last two decades or so. What was previously a Roman Catholic, ethnic, and immigrant phenomenon, with nine out of ten children in that sector attending Catholic schools in 1960, has now become highly diverse. As shown in

Table 11, while Catholic schools decreased in number by 30% and showed losses of 46% in enrollments from 1965 to 1983, the non-Catholic private schools showed extensive growth: leaders included Jewish schools by 66%, Lutherans, 31%, Adventists, 49% increase; Greek Orthodox by 77%, and Fundamentalist, 223% increase in number of schools and even stronger showings in pupil growth: Lutherans, 35%; Jews, 37%; Episcopal, 32%; and Evangelical, 627%. In fact, only the Mennonite and Roman Catholic schools registered a loss, while the other 19 types of private schools expanded.

An analysis of the various parts of the private sector provides a look at the changing make-up of nonpublic school types in the U.S. Table 12, for example, shows the incredible growth in the non-CAtholic private schools (row 3), in contrast to the drop in the Catholic schools, a loss of 46% for Catholics versus a 186% increase in non-Catholic private schools. The total private sector enrollments shrank because of the size and contraction of Catholic schools. The relationship among types was also restructured, as Table 13 illustrates.

Comparing Catholic, Protestant, Jewish and Not Religiously Affiliated, one sees that 57% of private enrollments are Catholic

Table 11

The Demographic Diversity of U.S. Private Schools by Type (1965-83)

	1965-66		1970-71		1975-76		1980-81		1982-83		% Growth/Decline: 1965 to 1983	
	Students	Schools	Students	Schools	Students	Schools	Students	Schools	Students	Schools	Students	Schools
1. Roman Catholic	5,574,354	13,292	4,361,007	10,841	3,161,979	11,152	3,106,378	9,560	3,027,312	9,432	-46%	-29%
Lutheran Total:	(208,209)	(1,896)	(202,362)		(212,908)		([illegible])		(280,530)	(2,480)	+35%	+31%
2. Amer. Lutheran Church	8,795	147	9,926	154	16,121	159	25,873	318	31,284	376	+256%	+155%
3. Missouri Synod	171,966	1,364	163,386	1,207	165,604	1,225	182,684	1,460	198,061	1,603	+15%	+18%
4. Evangelical Lutheran	–	–	–	–	–	–	[illegible]	–	5,144	37	–	–
5. Misc. Evang. Lutheran	27,448	239	29,050	255	31,183	304	[illegible]	–	35,550	391	+30%	+14%
Jewish Total:	(73,112)	(345)	([illegible])	([illegible])	91,539)	([illegible])	([illegible])	(543)	(100,202)	(572)	+37%	+66%
6. Orthodox Jewish	68,800	321	75,221	378	82,203	427	84,201	477	86,321	497	+25%	+55%
7. Conservative Jewish	3,489	19	7,042	34	7,965	50	10,546	59	12,341	68	+254%	+258%
8. Reform Jewish	823	5	843	5	1,345	6	1,431	7	1,540	7	+87%	+40%
9. Seventh Day Adventist	64,252	884	72,106	994	74,938	1,115	74,615	1,280	81,507	1,324	+27%	+49%
10. Independent NAIS	199,329	697	221,215	769	277,406	774	294,985	809	336,797	873	+69%	+25%
11. Episcopal	59,437	347	74,892	459	76,436	–	76,388	320	78,214	327	+32%	+52%
12. Greek Orthodox	2,205	13	3,655	18	13,603	–	[illegible]	–	7,590	23	+24%	+77%
13. Friends (Quaker)	10,878	16	13,706	41	13,801	–	13,522	51	13,853	53	+27%	+47%
14. Mennonite	13,256	276	7,368		8,079	–	[illegible]	99	[illegible]	113	-18%	-59%
15. Special Education	NA	–	NA		7,853	–	[illegible]	–	290,999	2,600	–	–
16. Alternative	125	–	13,142	625	23,498	895		520	11,592	128	–	+ .4%
17. Military	NA	–			13,609		[illegible]	–	[illegible]	36		
18. Calvinist (CSI)[a]	51,240	–	51,182	222	48,585	211	51,845	217	74,541	382	+45%	+78%
19. Evangelical[b]	110,300	–	234,311		344,200		359,425	7,455	912,985,	10,741	+827%	+223%
20. Assembly of God	3,110	–	7,462	60	21,921	155	[illegible]	160	[illegible]	173	+225	–
21. Montessori							40,000	485	60,000	640	–	–
								Totals:	5,305,041	30,097		

Source: National Center for Education Statistics, The Condi[illegible]n of Education, 1983;
National Catholic Education Association

[a]Christian Schools International

[b]Evangelical is a category of self-confessed, "born again" Christian schools, such as Baptist, Methodist which have indicated a Fundamentalist ideal.

TABLE 12

PRIVATE SCHOOL ENROLLMENTS TOTALS BY TYPE, 1965-1983

	1965-66	1970-71	1975-76	1980-81	1982-83	% CHANGE 1965-83
TOTAL Private Schools:	6,369,807	5,365,415	4,592,349	4,764,946	5,305,041	-17%
Catholic Schools:	5,574,354	4,361,007	3,363,979	3,106,378	3,027,312	-46%
Non-Catholic Schools	795,453	1,004,408	1,228,370	1,748,568	2,277,729	+186%

Source: National Center for Education Statistics, 1984; in addition, data from national groups and other surveys.

Table 13

DISTRIBUTION OF PRIVATE SCHOOLS AND STUDENTS

AMONG SECTORS, 1983

I. By Type	Students	% of Total Sector	Schools	% of Total Sector
1. ROMAN CATHOLIC	3,027,312	57%	9,432	32%
2. PROTESTANT Church Related	1,470,347	28%	15,816	53%
3. JEWISH Sponsored	100,202	2%	572	2%
4. NO RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION	707,180	13%	4,277	14%
TOTAL:	Students: 5,305,041	100%	Schools: 30,097	100%

Schools with: II. Religious versus No Religious Affiliations:	Students	% Sector	Schools	% Sector
5. Religious Affiliation:	4,597,861	87%	25,820	86%
6. No Religious Affiliations:	707,180	13%	4,277	14%

(down from 88 percent in 1960), while Protestant-sponsored schools reached 28%, 2% Jewish, and 13% not church related. The data are even more graphic when examining numbers and percentage of private school types: Catholic, 31%; Protestant now 53%, the largest; Jewish, 2%; and not affiliated with religion, 14 percent. Hence, the majority of private schools in the U.S. have a Protestant affiliation, although the Protestant schools are much smaller in size than the Catholic ones. The former have an average enrollment of less than 100 students. It is also worth noting that only 13% of the pupils and 14% of the schools are not religiously related. It is clear, then, that American private schools are now predominately religious and Protestant--not Catholic as was once the case.

The private school picture is now more diverse with a greater balance among the variety of religious, social and ethnic and class groups, 21 different types, most of which have grown recently. It seems obvious, too, that religious reasons are most prominent in explaining the sponsorship and attendance at nonpublic schools, with 86% of the schools attended by 87% of the nation's private school pupils going to religiously sponsored schools. Hence, we can no longer read "Roman Catholic" when one hears "private," though Catholic schools were still enrolling 57% of the pupils, in only 31% of the private schools, in 1983.

2. From eastern and urban to everywhere and rural. Private schools are no longer located predominantly in ethnic, urban and industrial centers of the East and Great Lakes. Christian academies are found in many small towns previously unacquainted with nonpublic

schools. Tables 14 and 15 show schools and pupils by state in 1980. California now has more private schools than New York, though New York has more pupils in private schools and many more Catholic schools: New York, 1,900 schools, 1,000 Catholic; California, 2,415 schools, only 731 Catholic. Enrollments, Table 15 show New York leading but slightly with 580,000 students, of which about 500,000 are in Catholic schools. The South, long a place with very few nonpublic schools, has seen these schools mushroom. North Carolina, for one, has nearly 300 private schools, but again, few Catholic ones: 38 Catholic (13%), 75 Baptist schools, 14 Christian academies, 24 Seventh Day Adventist. Thus, the states with newer and rising private school statistics are less likely to have large Catholic school populations.

This dispersion of nonpublic schools into virtually every community with 10,000 people, in every state and region has implications for public policies. No longer can legislators and bureaucrats ignore the pleas for help from private schools. The public may no longer sit by quietly; they may demand more involvement and choice. Public schools too are forced to confront the loss of patrons to private schools.

3. From decline to growth. There can be little doubt that the diversification and growth of private education in the U.S. signals a change. The non-Catholic private sector grew by over 87 percent in the last 15 years, with an overall leap from .795 million to 2.27

TABLE 14 -Approximate Distribution of Private Schools by State, 1980

	TOTAL[a]	Not Church-Related	Total Church-Related	Baptist	Catholic	Christian	Episcopal	Jewish	Lutheran	Seventh Day Advntst.	Other Church-Related
UNITED STATES	20,764	4,722	16,042	1,075	9,509	651	320	386	1,534	1,083	1,484
Alabama	249	94	155	33	53	13	4	1	13	15	23
Alaska	36	4	32	4	7	7	0	0	2	8	4
Arizona	221	93	128	6	54	9	4	4	19	16	16
Arkansas	114	29	85	7	35	2	4	0	3	20	14
California	2,415	860	1,555	127	731	152	38	35	146	141	185
Colorado	228	70	158	16	68	6	1	6	22	26	13
Connecticut	333	94	239	1	198	4	8	9	5	7	7
Delaware	82	22	60	9	30	4	1	1	0	2	13
District of Columbia	93	40	53	2	39	1	5	0	0	2	4
Florida	824	303	521	105	184	35	32	17	45	44	59
Georgia	334	154	180	58	37	22	2	4	5	32	20
Hawaii	114	37	77	8	36	6	5	0	5	10	7
Idaho	46	2	44	1	13	2	0	0	5	18	5
Illinois	1,318	236	1,082	28	769	24	2	16	175	32	36
Indiana	482	38	444	31	228	20	2	3	56	20	84
Iowa	287	17	270	5	171	2	0	1	26	17	48
Kansas	185	26	159	1	111	6	1	1	22	11	6
Kentucky	286	41	245	20	190	10	2	1	1	10	11
Louisiana	437	108	329	18	248	4	15	1	11	15	17
Maine	113	59	54	9	25	6	0	1	0	5	8
Maryland	371	89	282	9	190	8	12	10	19	18	16
Massachusetts	513	155	358	3	317	4	3	11	0	14	6
Michigan	883	93	790	64	393	21	3	4	164	63	78
Minnesota	483	39	444	21	250	17	2	2	116	17	19
Mississippi	168	80	88	11	47	5	8	0	0	10	7
Missouri	558	68	490	9	334	8	1	2	69	17	50
Montana	78	11	67	3	26	1	0	0	4	15	18
Nebraska	227	8	219	2	130	2	1	1	64	15	4
Nevada	38	8	30	3	14	3	0	1	3	5	1
New Hampshire	102	35	67	10	38	5	3	0	0	3	8
New Jersey	829	180	649	19	553	10	3	27	11	14	21
New Mexico	110	33	77	7	38	8	1	2	2	10	9
New York	1,907	415	1,492	42	1,085	20	26	173	51	40	55
North Carolina	293	109	184	75	38	14	6	2	7	24	18
North Dakota	64	7	57	0	39	0	0	0	5	10	3
Ohio	871	64	807	22	619	22	1	12	35	25	71
Oklahoma	82	10	72	2	32	6	5	1	7	12	7
Oregon	183	41	142	6	63	8	1	1	6	45	12
Pennsylvania	1,627	273	1,354	47	899	59	13	17	16	26	277
Rhode Island	117	28	89	1	77	1	2	2	1	0	5
South Carolina	203	91	112	40	29	15	7	1	5	4	11
South Dakota	108	28	80	2	32	7	1	0	11	11	16
Tennessee	290	89	201	40	52	8	7	4	7	47	36
Texas	659	93	566	40	289	13	62	8	63	48	43
Utah	26	8	18	0	9	0	0	0	3	5	1
Vermont	62	39	23	1	14	1	2	0	0	5	0
Virginia	361	159	202	46	70	7	20	2	11	22	24
Washington	330	77	253	17	96	20	3	1	22	54	40
West Virginia	85	5	80	14	44	6	0	0	0	13	3
Wisconsin	909	56	853	35	458	17	1	1	268	28	45

Source: National Center for Education Statistics, 1983. Derived from National Survey of private elementary & secondary schools

Table 15

Enrollment in private elementary and secondary schools,[1] by affiliation of school and by State: Fall 1980

State	Total	Not church-related	Church-related								
			Total	Baptist	Catholic	Christian[2]	Episcopal	Jewish	Lutheran	Seventh-Day Adventist	Other
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
United States	4,961,788	796,260	4,166,496	232,125	3,138,209	111,810	78,388	84,842	218,278	81,807	223,836
Alabama	62,889	24,893	38,016	7,016	14,720	3,206	1,088	82	1,318	888	8,647
Alaska	3,800	888	3,232	830	1,029	731	---	---	84	181	417
Arizona	40,281	10,946	29,316	1,248	18,306	2,888	881	316	2,072	1,267	2,370
Arkansas	18,423	5,186	13,226	1,340	7,223	183	842	---	826	798	2,448
California	813,709	103,134	410,575	28,198	282,890	29,877	8,884	9,280	24,298	18,811	33,470
Colorado	38,250	7,287	27,893	2,244	17,120	1,087	123	880	2,783	1,488	2,957
Connecticut	88,404	21,006	67,398	280	61,780	372	1,873	885	814	381	1,064
Delaware	23,374	4,282	19,022	1,700	14,725	884	230	114	---	38	1,880
District of Columbia	21,203	4,836	16,887	182	12,214	210	2,184	---	---	499	1,308
Florida	204,988	80,084	184,904	31,704	74,288	7,880	9,072	3,791	9,337	3,888	18,484
Georgia	82,306	44,483	38,062	11,815	13,297	4,390	1,206	688	433	2,400	4,068
Hawaii	37,147	13,166	23,981	2,870	16,068	1,283	1,731	---	1,337	838	1,092
Idaho	5,838	377	5,462	86	2,188	824	---	---	820	1,200	884
Illinois	349,483	28,782	323,681	4,883	278,240	2,881	312	2,887	28,720	2,184	8,134
Indiana	100,234	7,433	92,801	8,828	83,237	2,887	488	358	8,226	1,228	8,778
Iowa	88,227	1,342	83,886	1,071	44,780	207	---	18	2,840	293	4,886
Kansas	33,889	3,814	30,075	320	25,810	1,021	183	187	1,788	408	907
Kentucky	69,728	11,033	58,695	3,977	50,226	1,737	82	132	178	736	1,827
Louisiana	188,921	30,178	128,746	4,461	112,089	648	4,842	110	1,884	1,284	3,816
Maine	17,840	8,002	8,838	887	6,733	881	---	33	---	281	1,023
Maryland	106,447	18,888	87,883	4,788	88,188	1,428	1,887	3,082	2,878	2,407	2,841
Massachusetts	138,333	28,405	109,928	316	104,720	388	801	1,882	---	1,088	935
Michigan	211,871	18,878	195,883	13,300	129,892	1,284	481	871	28,089	8,887	18,588
Minnesota	88,886	4,441	84,828	2,811	84,418	1,848	838	248	10,808	882	2,882
Mississippi	80,118	30,338	19,780	2,106	11,342	828	2,008	---	---	474	2,028
Missouri	126,318	8,887	117,482	2,888	98,184	1,104	300	312	11,388	1,338	8,182
Montana	7,888	828	6,743	201	4,884	18	---	---	838	828	778
Nebraska	38,874	1,387	37,207	248	30,188	281	318	28	4,844	888	283
Nevada	8,888	844	8,888	274	4,306	248	---	83	330	218	220
New Hampshire	20,721	8,888	14,838	838	11,238	888	882	---	---	71	1,280
New Jersey	228,878	23,482	206,418	1,701	188,878	1,784	408	8,427	1,341	1,088	3,838
New Mexico	18,027	5,173	12,884	788	8,217	740	20	80	224	823	1,284
New York	878,870	70,884	808,878	4,303	428,881	2,338	8,298	47,818	10,818	3,483	8,846
North Carolina	88,078	24,906	33,473	18,373	8,333	1,838	1,071	101	787	1,840	2,133
North Dakota	10,888	1,871	8,088	---	8,230	---	---	---	838	288	88
Ohio	288,387	14,294	284,063	8,338	227,888	8,318	117	2,084	8,888	1,700	4,871
Oklahoma	18,338	2,218	14,117	237	7,381	1,308	2,484	28	887	1,077	1,028
Oregon	27,828	4,088	23,788	778	14,387	2,014	881	118	744	3,888	1,242
Pennsylvania	402,088	38,878	382,080	8,880	314,387	8,178	2,381	2,884	1,878	1,448	24,481
Rhode Island	28,878	2,843	27,232	70	28,018	17	380	284	110	---	1,388
South Carolina	48,818	24,384	28,288	8,448	7,888	2,847	2,888	183	888	184	1,781
South Dakota	10,898	1,780	8,108	72	8,882	471	88	---	818	148	988
Tennessee	71,817	20,784	80,823	13,838	18,188	2,288	2,132	388	1,843	3,372	12,343
Texas	148,834	17,884	130,840	11,102	78,788	3,088	13,882	1,478	8,437	2,788	10,341
Utah	8,888	1,882	3,883	---	2,088	---	---	---	371	148	118
Vermont	7,888	3,284	4,291	88	4,082	38	48	---	---	88	---
Virginia	78,088	28,807	48,282	10,881	23,080	2,083	8,484	280	1,773	1,177	3,824
Washington	88,880	8,901	47,048	3,047	27,388	2,888	882	228	2,401	4,388	8,122
West Virginia	12,808	840	11,788	1,888	8,488	878	---	---	---	328	238
Wisconsin	182,381	8,080	188,301	2,488	110,014	1,182	188	248	37,881	1,048	3,878
Wyoming	3,038	780	2,278	838	1,387	---	---	---	209	142	---

[1] Includes enrollment in special education, vocational/technical.

Source: National Center for Education Statistics, 1983. Derived from National Survey of private elementary and secondary schools.

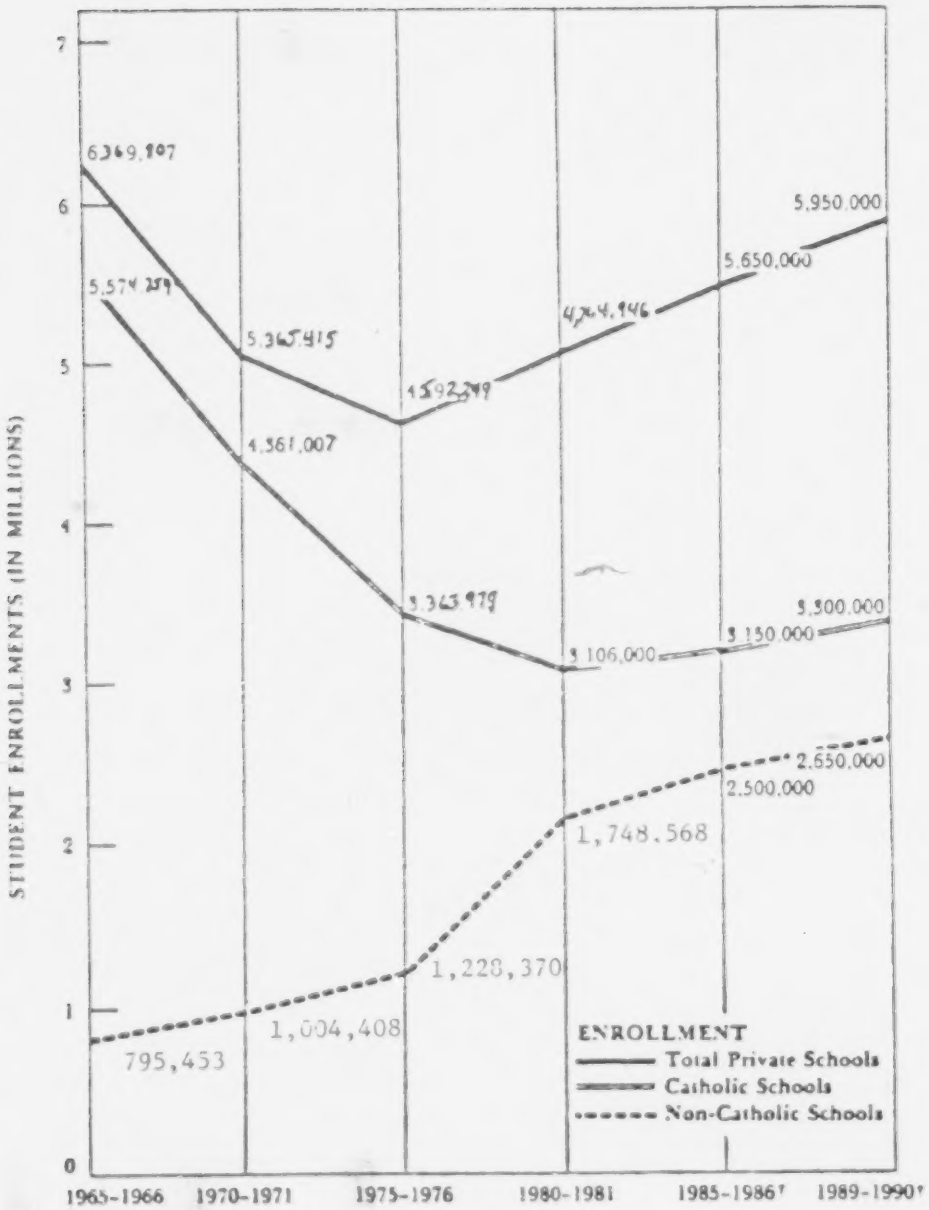
million--up 186 percent. This growth shows a vigor at the local level, since many or most of these schools are the result of grass-roots community and family effort, not the "top-down" work of national or regional associations. The private school enterprise is growing, expanding, becoming more diverse and more available to all children in the U.S. Families everywhere have shown interest.

Figure 1 indicates the enrollment growth and decline starting in 1965 and projected through 1990. School types are grouped by Roman Catholic, Non-Catholic Private, and Total Private schools. If the Catholic sector recovers and shows net gains--or even holds constant--and other schools continue their climb, the total private school sector should reach 5.95 million pupils by 1990. Already, the segment of children attending private (versus public) schools has risen from 9% in 1975 to 12% in 1984. So as public schools lose population (down 14 percent in ten years), the private schools, particularly the non-Catholic portion, are growing. This realignment has important implications for three groups in society: private schools, parents, and policymakers.

IMPLICATIONS

For Private Schools

Changes in the demography of private schools have important implications for various groups in the U.S. Private schools--their



*Adjusted
†Estimated

FIGURE 1
Private School Enrollments by Group
1965/1966-1989/1990

national, regional, and local leadership--should understand that they are now part of a burgeoning, vital national movement, one reaching into almost every hamlet, region, and religious community. Already in some places, one sees a growing awareness among private schools of their common identity and concerns: the need for public funds, dealing with the attempt of states to regulate and control these schools, the effort to attract students, and the relationship with local education authorities. Associations, within and across private school sponsors, are emerging, from the Council for American Private Education (CAPE) in Washington, D.C., to separate religious associations (e.g., National Catholic Education Association) to newcomers like the Southeastern Association of Christian Schools.

The formation of private school affiliations signals a new phase in private education, a time when their influence grows, and when these schools can find support and help. The exact nature of these relationships and associations is yet to be investigated systematically. Research on the formation, activities, and influence of the growing private sector is a fruitful area of study. As the number of new, unassociated schools increases, what are the ways in which other similar schools reach out and communicate with these schools? What is the nature of relationships among private schools and the authorities? And what happens to the newer-type Christian academies, and other private schools as they increase in size and structure? Do they tend, as they become older and more established, to associate with one another and to form organizations for cooperative efforts? These and other questions need exploration, as

we come to understand the increase in nonpublic elementary and secondary schools.

For Parents

Parents appear to be presented with a larger number of options in schooling their children both in terms of kinds of private education and in location. In turn, parents may be treating both the private and public schools as a kind of "educational marketplace," selecting among numerous types of schools in both sectors, depending on the needs, talents, abilities, and expectations of their children.

This change in parental outlook has come about in part because more public schools are adopting private-school techniques of advertising, attempting to attract talented and able children, and representing themselves to the public clearly and forcefully. Private schools, meanwhile, are seen more and more as a "public good," an available choice to an increasingly broad group of families. In effect, then, the dividing line between "private" and "public" diminishes with private schools fulfilling public services and public schools being more competitive and special. This merging is bolstered somewhat by the sense that all education is both private (a commitment to personal growth and development) and public (contributing to the commonwealth, economic productivity, and national expansion). Public "magnet schools" in large cities are often exclusive, even elite programs, taking the most academically talented students, or the most artistically talented, the best athletes, and most committed. Private schools, too, have this magnet quality, using many of the same criteria for admissions.

The changing make-up, size and location of private schools in the U.S. clearly signals that more parents everywhere are seeking private alternatives, are exercising their rights to select among private (and public) schools. And in so doing, they are creating more options for families. Today, even within the same family, one sees siblings attending a variety of private and public schools, depending on (a) family resources; (b) the talents, abilities, and needs of the children; (c) the availability of options; (d) the preferences of the children themselves; and (e) the values and beliefs of the parents. Such a mix, diversity, and availability for families is certainly a new development in American life. This state of universal diversity has been reached in many locations, if our data on the spread of private schools are any indication. Growing entrepreneurship, drive, and receptiveness among parents, churches, synagogues, and communities have offered more options to families and their children than ever before.

While we have evidence that families are exercising choice among numerous public and private school options, additional research is necessary on how families balance costs, distance, programs, religious values, and academic qualities in selecting schools for their children. Buying education is the largest single activity that society accomplishes--consuming more funds than any other government service except health; yet we know very little about how the key decisionmakers--parents--reach the determination as to schools. And as more private schools are available, the options grow. With the

availability of public support for nonpublic schools, family choice could become more important in the years to come.

For Politicians and Policymakers

Finally, this restructuring, expansion, and newfound strength of U.S. private schools has implications for the political process. Groups traditionally committed to public schools (Fundamentalist Christians, Jews, the middle class) appear to be using private schools more extensively. For example, more than 100,000 Jewish children are now in Jewish all-day schools, and nearly a million pupils attend Fundamentalist Christian academies. Both groups were bedrock supporters of the local public schools as roads to equality of education opportunity. Their appeal to private options cannot easily be ignored by politicians.

Much research needs to be done to trace the political power of private education in shaping the laws that govern the way private schools are regulated, funded, and operated. Already, we see the states creating offices of nonpublic education, within state departments of education. Private schools are being granted greater autonomy in some places, often a response to the lobbying of private school groups for control over their own destinies. Yet, in other places, states and their private schools become locked in struggle, with the courts called in to settle the issue. In Ohio, for example, a fundamentalist school refused to follow the extensive state regulations, arguing that to be in compliance would rob the Christian school of the freedom and time to carry out its religious mission. The U.S. Supreme Court, in Whisner, ruled that in balancing the

responsibility of the state against the freedom of the school to maintain its unique program, the school could ignore some of the state requirements, if they obviated the nature of the religious program and thus the school.

Once certain policies are established, how do they affect the operation and quality of private schools? For example, now that Minnesota has a "tuition tax deduction" scheme in effect, what impact is that form of aid having on the composition and resources of nonpublic schools in that state? By implication, we could learn about possible results of such a program nationwide under a policy of federal tax support for participants in private schooling.

As the political power and unity of private schools grows, and as private and public school groups begin to realize that they have much in common (resources for children), perhaps they can work together to lobby for better financing of schools at state and national levels. The image of the leaders of, say, the National Catholic Education Association and the National Education Association, marching on Capitol Hill for increased help for schools--all schools--is not too far-fetched. A combined public-private front for education--just the way private and public universities work now--has tremendous possibilities.

The U.S. is a different place, educationally and socially, because of the introduction of private schools into virtually every community. What had once been ethnic and Catholic now takes on a universal, small-town Southern and Western flavor. The spread of nonpublic schools reminds us of the energy and vision that built the

common public schools in the 19th century: local folks starting schools for their children in their local communities, schools reflecting their own beliefs and values. And this new energy and dedication to nonpublic schools may indicate a shift in political power, public funding, and general public concern--and the probability of greater public scrutiny and regulation of private schools. These trends have just begun; they require deliberation and study. But we see already how changes in private schools have altered the nation's educational landscape, the allegiances of families, and the religious, spiritual, not to mention the academic, life of children.

Notes

1. A number of important books and articles have appeared in the last few years on private education, public policies, and related issues. See Edward M. Gaffney, Jr. (Ed.), Private Schools and the Public Good (Notre Dame, IN: Notre Dame University Press, 1981); Donald A. Erickson (Ed.), Public Controls for Nonpublic Schools (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1969); Otto F. Kraushaar, American Nonpublic Schools: Patterns of Diversity (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1972); J. C. Carper and T. C. Hunt, Religious Education in America (Birmingham, AL: Religious Education Press, 1984).

2. Prior systematic efforts include Donald A. Erickson, Richard L. Nault, and Bruce S. Cooper, "Recent Enrollment Trends in U.S. Nonpublic Schools." In Susan Abramowitz and Stuart Rosenfeld (Eds.), Declining Enrollment: The Challenge of the Coming Decade (Washington, DC: National Institute of Education, 1978), pp. 81-127; see also National Center for Education Statistics, The Condition of Education, 1981, 1982, 1983 (Washington, DC: Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Printing Office, 1981, 1982, 1983, pp. 63, 65, 67, 71 (1981 ed.), 45, 53, 55 (1982 ed.), and 17, 19 (1983 ed.). Donald L. McLaughlin and Thomas W. Bakke, Nonpublic School Pupils, How Many Are There, Really? (Palo Alto, CA: American Institutes for Research, 1981), for the National Center for Education Statistics.

3. See Bruce S. Cooper, Donald McLaughlin and Bruno V. Manno, "The Latest Word on Private school Growth," Teachers College Record 85 (Fall 1983), pp. 88-98. Also, Donald A. Erickson, "Dynamics of Private School Growth and Decline," in Public Policy and Private Schools, Daniel Levy (ed.), forthcoming. Donald L. McLaughlin, Nonpublic School Pupils: A Validation Check of NCES Surveys (SAGE Technical Report No. 20, Palo Alto, CA: American Institutes for Research, 1983, 1981.

4. Discussed in Harold A. Buetow, Of Singular Benefit: The Story of U.S. Catholic Education (New York: Macmillan, 1970), p. 46. See also, Neil C. McClusky, Catholic Education Faces Its Future (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1968); and J. A. Burns and B. J. Kohlbrenner, A History of Catholic Education in the United States (New York: Bensinger Brothers, 1937), James W. Sanders, The Education of an Urban Minority: Catholics in Chicago: 1833-1965 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1976).

5. For a treatment of this controversy, see Andrew M. Greeley and others, Catholic Education in a Declining Church (Kansas City, MO: Sheed and Ward, 1976). Andrew M. Greeley, Catholic High Schools and Minority Students (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Books, 1982); James S. Coleman, T. Hoffer and S. Kilgore, Public and Private Schools (Chicago, National Opinion Research Center,

University of Chicago, 1981); James G. Cibulka, Timothy J. O'Brien, and Donald Zewe, Inner-City Private Elementary Schools: A Study (Milwaukee, WI: Marquette University Press, 1982); Bruno V. Manno and Bruce S. Cooper, "The State of Catholic Education," paper presented to the American Education Research Association, Special Interest Group: Associates for Research on Private Education, Montreal, 1983.

6. In 1983, for example, there was net growth in both schools and pupils in a number of areas. The elementary level saw increases in 21 dioceses/archdioceses, 12 states, and 1 region. Secondary school improvement occurred in 27 (out of 165 dioceses) and 11 states. For an analysis, see Cooper et al., "The Latest Word on Private School Growth," Teachers College Record, Fall 1983.

7. Martin Luther, "Letters to the Mayors and Councilman of All German Cities in Behalf of Christian Schools, 1524," in August C. Stellhorn, Schools of the Lutheran Church, Missouri Synod (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1963), p. 9.

8. See Walter M. Beck, Lutheran Elementary Schools in the United States (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1963).

9. Board of Parish Education, Department of Elementary and Secondary Schools, Statistical Report, 1983, p. 3.

10. See Alvin Irwin Schiff, The Jewish Day School in America (New York: The Jewish Education Committee Press, 1966).

11. See Daniel Syme, "Reform Judaism and Day Schools: The Great Historical Dilemma," Religious Education, Vol. 78, No. 2, Spring 1983, pp. 153-181.

12. Church Manual on Family [illegible] Washington, DC., 1965.

13. The history of Hotch[illegible] started by the leader[illegible] flow of elite, well-educ[illegible] Hotchkiss. It was orig[illegible] School, but was named after [illegible]

14. Donald B. Krallbill, Mennonite [illegible] Changes (Herald Press, 1978), p. 52.

15. National Center for Education Statistics, 1983. For a treatment of the free school movement, see Daniel L. Duke, The Retransformation of the School: The Emergence of Contemporary Alternative Schools in the U.S. (Chicago: Nelson-Hall, 1978); Bruce S. Cooper, Free and Freedom Schools (Washington, DC: The President's Commission on School Finance, 1969); Allen Graubard, Free the Children: Radical Reform and the Free School Movement

(New York: Pantheon, 1973); and Bruce S. Cooper, "Organizational Survival: A Comparative Case of Seven American 'Free Schools,'" Education and Urban Society, Vol. 5, No. 4 (August 1973), pp. 487-508.

16. James S. Carper, "The Christian Day School Movement," The Educational Forum, Vol. (Winter 1983), p. 135; see also, William J. Lanouette, "The Fourth R is Religion," National Observer, Vol. , January 15, 1977, pp. 1 and 18; Roy W. Lowrie, Jr., "Christian School Growing Pains," Eternity, Vol. , January 1971, pp. 19-21; Richard Ostling, "Why Protestant Schools are Booming," Christian Herald, Vol. , July-August 1977, pp. 44-47.

17. Carper, too, estimated a total of some 900,000 children in Evangelical Christian schools.